

Public attitudes to housing

July 2006

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Executive summary

Tenancy preferences and attitudes to home ownership

Most people prefer to live in a property they own (82%). Although not as enthusiastic as current owners, a substantial proportion (45%) of housing association tenants would like to own their own home. This is higher among those who are younger and those with a higher income.

Enthusiasm for home ownership has increased markedly in recent years, although not among younger people. Similarly, housing association tenants have not become keener about owning their own home. This may be because of the changing profile of housing association tenants.

Housing association tenants also appear to be less loyal towards their landlords than other renters. This is perhaps due to the fact that there is greater awareness of councils among housing association tenants than vice versa (due to the programme or transferring stock from local authority to housing association control) or may be due to the availability of the Right to Buy local authority properties.

Perceptions of landlords

In comparison with other types of landlords, housing associations appear to be the least well known. However, those who felt able to give an opinion of them, generally perceived them in a positive light. They fare particularly well with regard to repairs and maintenance and the provision of homes in good neighbourhoods.

The main perceived drawbacks to being a housing association tenant relate to general aspects of the tenure, such as not owning one's own home. However, fewer existing housing association tenants, perceive the fact they are unable to invest in the housing market as a negative point of their tenure, perhaps reflecting the fact that ownership is not as strong an aspiration amongst this group. Conversely, younger tenants are more inclined to regard not owning their own home as a bad thing.

Perceptions of the role of housing associations

A large number of people have no great knowledge of housing associations or the work they do. Many respondents are simply unable to indicate which types of people they think live in housing association accommodation and among those who are, not all are accurate. The employment status of housing association tenants, for instance, is over-estimated and considerably fewer households have children than is generally perceived.

With regard to who housing associations should provide for, it is generally felt that this should be those on low incomes as well as key workers. However, those who are themselves social sector tenants are more inclined to say that this type of housing should be for anyone regardless of income.

Introduction

The British Social Attitudes survey series

For over 20 years, the British Social Attitudes survey has been one of the most authoritative sources of trend data on the views of the British public. It has been carried out annually since 1983 (apart from in 1988 and 1992). A variety of funders, including major government departments, quasi-government bodies, other foundations and universities support the survey, enabling it to cover a wide range of social, economic, political and moral issues. In addition, core funding is provided by the Gatsby Charitable Foundation. Questions are designed to be relevant to policy debates or research agendas, but also to be repeated at regular intervals. An important stipulation of the core funding received from the Gatsby Charitable Foundation is that the British social attitudes team has final say over the content of the questionnaires and the reporting of the data, thus enabling the survey series to maintain its independence.

The achieved sample size for the survey and the number of versions of the questionnaire have increased since its early years, enabling more detailed analysis of smaller population subgroups and the creation of space for the coverage of a greater range of topics. In 2004, the majority of questions funded by the Housing Corporation were asked of 3,199 respondents. Some questions appeared on the self-completion questionnaire which was completed by 2,609 respondents.

Fieldwork involves computer-assisted interviews carried out face to face with respondents aged 18 or over living in private households in Great Britain. It takes place in the summer and autumn each year. Extra information is also collected from self-completion questionnaires which respondents complete after the main interview. (More details of the technical aspects of the survey are given in the Technical Appendix). Although a great deal of effort is made by interviewers to encourage people to take part in the survey, not all people approached will agree to participate. This non-response can have implications for the representativeness of the sample (if, for example, non-participation is higher in one particular subgroup than another). Comparing the 2003 survey with the 2003 ONS mid-year estimates shows that the sample is broadly representative of the population in most characteristics. Some groups are, however, under-represented including men, younger age groups and people in employment. This is likely to reflect differential non-response amongst these groups.

A further stipulation of the core funding received by the survey series is that we disseminate the survey results widely. The main way by which we achieve this is via the series of British social attitudes reports, new editions of which are published each December in the year following fieldwork. The most recent report, The 22nd BSA Report, was published in December 2005. Once the results are in the public domain, the survey dataset is deposited with full documentation in the data archive at the University of Essex. Datasets from the survey have proved very popular with students and academics when researching, and teaching about, changing values and attitudes over time.

Public attitudes to housing

In the light of recent policy developments, specifically regarding the selling off of local authority and housing association properties to tenants, and the extension of low cost home ownership schemes operated for housing association tenants and other clients, there is particular interest in attitudes to home ownership, both those among the general public and in particular among housing association tenants. The British social attitudes survey series has included questions on the issue periodically over the last 20 years, making trend analysis possible. In 2004, The Housing Corporation funded a module of questions on the British social attitudes survey about public attitudes to housing. This module included questions on attitudes to ownership.

At present very little is known about what the general public think of housing associations or other forms of Registered Social Landlord (RSL)¹ whether in their own right or in contrast to local authority landlords or other forms of tenure. As the role of housing associations increases, more people from other forms of tenure will come into contact with them, either through knowing tenants of such landlords or through local planning applications for new housing association developments in their area. Understanding general attitudes towards this particular form of tenure will help housing associations in planning future developments. If concerns about this form of tenure, especially those fuelled by misconceptions of its purpose or tenant profile, are better understood by housing associations in advance, then support for new housing developments could potentially be easier to generate amongst local communities. It is likely to be of particular benefit in those areas where the current proportion of housing association property is very low.

Within the module of questions, there was a specific focus on housing associations and their tenants. This work aimed to complement the Housing Corporation's own survey of housing association tenants by providing a comparative survey of the general public.

The research had two main aims:

- To assess the extent to which housing association tenants and people with other tenure types (e.g. owner-occupiers, local authority tenants, private renters) differ in their attitudes towards issues such as landlord choice, security of tenure, satisfaction with their property and local area, perceptions of value for money and their ability to participate in decisions about their own particular housing or their surrounding area.
- To provide robust measures of public attitudes towards, and perceptions of, housing associations and their tenants. This will enable the Housing Corporation to establish the extent to which the general public's perceptions of housing association tenants are accurate and reflect the reality of this increasingly important sector in the housing market. With the growth and diversification of housing associations, especially in light of the move towards them providing accommodation for 'key workers' in addition to the groups more traditionally associated with this sector, this research was designed to measure public understanding of this form of tenure.

¹ RSL is the technical name for all types of social landlord registered with the Housing Corporation. Most are Housing Associations but there are also trusts, co-operatives and companies. Throughout this report, the term 'housing association tenants' is used to refer to tenants in RSL properties.

The module therefore included questions on attitudes to ownership, tenancy preferences, future intentions, views on housing associations and their tenants and attitudes toward landlords. The housing questions, together with frequencies are included in the Technical appendix.

Guidance for interpretation of data in this report

As the difference between weighted and unweighted bases were generally small, only the unweighted bases are presented in the tables.

Except where stated, percentage figures in this report should be read vertically.

In tables, ‘*’ indicates less than 0.5% but greater than zero.

Percentages equal to or greater than 0.5 have been rounded up (e.g. 0.5% = one percent; 36.5% = 37%).

In many tables, the proportions of respondents answering “Don’t know” or not giving an answer are not shown. This, together with the effects of rounding and weighting, means that percentages will not always add to 100%.

The self-completion questionnaire was not completed by all respondents to the main questionnaire (see Technical appendix). Percentage responses to the self-completion questionnaire are based on all those who completed it.

Tenancy preferences and attitudes to home ownership

Recent Government initiatives have been aimed at increasing levels of home ownership, many of which have been specifically directed toward social housing tenants. This chapter examines whether the desire to increase home ownership is supported by the public as a whole and in particular, whether it reflects the aspirations of housing association tenants.

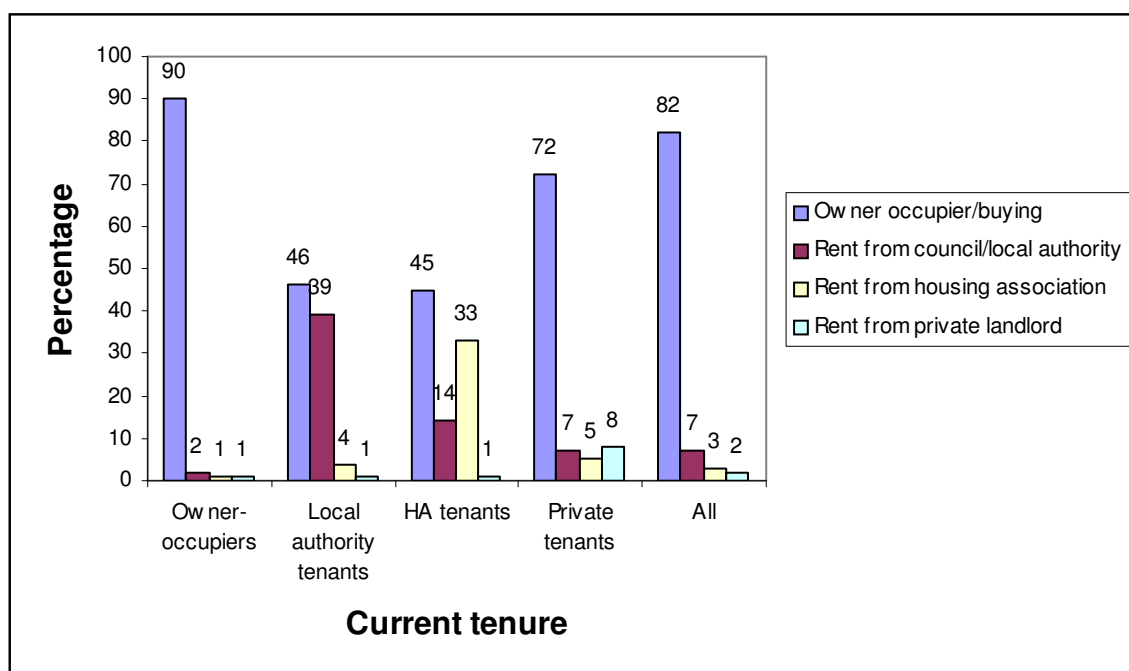
Preferred tenure

The following question was asked of all respondents in order to find out how people would like to occupy their homes, given a free choice:

Leaving aside any plans you might have for the future, which of these, if any, is the type of housing you would most want to live in?

It is clear that owner-occupation remains the tenure of choice for most people. As Figure 2.1 clearly shows, the majority of people (82%) would prefer to own their own home. However there is large variation according to the type of tenure the person currently lives in. Nine in ten current owners state home ownership as their preference. Among those in social housing, the desire for owner-occupation, though still high, is half the rate found among owners (46% for local authority tenants and 45% for housing association tenants). This shows that although housing association tenants do not show as strong a preference for owner-occupation as those who currently own their homes, a sizable proportion of them are interested in this form of tenure.

Figure 2.1 Type of housing would most like to live in by current tenure



Base: all respondents

The results are also shown in Table 2.1. The figures in bold show the preference for each type of tenancy amongst those already in that tenure and demonstrate that support for a particular tenancy type is strongest among those already living in it. For example, 39% of those currently renting from the local authority express a preference for doing so and in a similar way, a third of housing association tenants say that their preference would be to rent from a housing association. Private renters are more likely than the other groups to favour renting from a private landlord, although only a small proportion say that this is the type of housing that they would most like to live in (eight percent). Almost three-quarters of private renters would prefer to own their own property.

Table 2.1 Type of housing would most like to live in by current tenure

	Owner-occupiers	Local authority tenants	HA⁺ tenants	Private renters	All
	%	%	%	%	%
Owner occupier/buying	90	46	45	72	82
Rent from council/local authority	2	39	14	7	7
Rent from housing association	1	4	33	5	3
Rent from private landlord	1	1	1	8	2
Shared ownership	1	3	1	1	1
Live with friends/relatives	2	1	1	3	2
Sheltered accommodation	2	4	3	3	2
Base	2303	352	210	297	3199

+ Housing association

Paying closer attention to housing association tenants, we have seen that just under half of them would ideally like to own their own home. Given current policy initiatives to encourage housing association tenants towards owner-occupation, it is relevant to consider how those interested in owner-occupation compare with those who are not. For instance, are there any differences in the demographic composition of these two groups? Table 2.2 shows that these two groups do differ in some respects. The majority of those who would like to buy their own home are predominantly in the younger age groups. Nearly half (48%) of them are aged 18-34 years compared with just 14% of those who preferred other types of tenure. Nearly half (49%) of the second group are aged 55 and above. With regard to income, those interested in owner-occupation are more likely to be from higher income households (29% have an income above £15,000 compared with 17% of those who would want to live in another tenure type).

Other factors that differentiate the two groups of housing association tenants relate to their economic status, highest educational qualification, their marital status and the household type that they live in. To summarize, compared with housing association tenants who prefer other types of housing, housing association tenants who prefer owner-occupation are more likely to be:

- aged 18 to 34 (48%);
- earn above £15,000 (29%);
- in work/waiting to take up work (40%);
- have some level of educational qualifications (77%);

- not married (37%); or
- lone parents (24%).

Table 2.2 Age and income of housing association tenants by the type of housing they would most like to live in

	Want to live in owner- occupier housing %	Want to live in other type of housing %
Age		
18-34	48	14
35-54	40	37
55 and above	13	49
Base	93	116
Income		
Below £15,000	71	83
£15,000 or more	29	17
Base	88	103

Attitudes to home ownership

Another way to look at attitudes towards owner-occupation is to consider the advice people would give others. In order to assess this, respondents were asked:

Suppose a newly-married young couple, both with steady jobs, asked your advice about whether to buy or rent a home. If they had the choice, what would you advise them to do?

- To buy a home as soon as possible
- To wait a bit, then try to buy a home
- Not to plan to buy a home at all

As Table 2.3 shows, overall, most people (71%) would advise the young couple to buy as soon as possible. Only 1% would advise the couple not to buy. Current owner-occupiers are the group most likely to advocate buying as soon as possible (78%). Housing association tenants do not show such a strong preference for ownership but nearly four in ten of them (38%) would advise buying as soon as possible. Nearly half (46%) would recommend waiting before buying, showing that while housing association tenants do recognise the benefits of owner-occupation, they are more cautious in the advice they would give.

Table 2.3 Advice to a newly married couple about housing, by tenure

	Owner- occupiers %	Local authority tenants %	HA ⁺ tenants %	Private tenants %	All %
Buy as soon as possible	78	46	38	49	71
Wait a bit	18	41	46	43	24
Not buy	*	2	3	3	1
Can't choose	2	9	11	4	3

Base	1934	257	161	232	2609
+ Housing association					

This question has been asked repeatedly in the British social attitudes survey series and so allows us to see how responses have changed over time.

Table 2.4 shows that just over seven in ten would now advocate buying a home as soon as possible, a similar proportion to that found in 1986 when the question was first asked. However, between these two dates, support has fluctuated considerably.

Table 2.4 Advice to a newly-married couple about housing

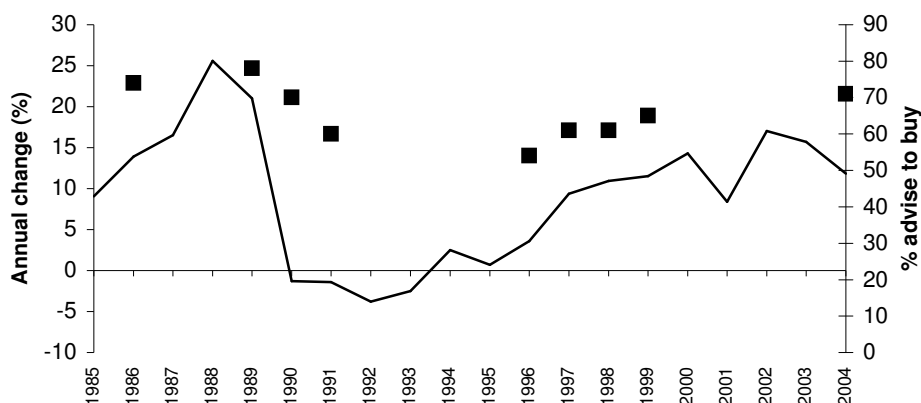
	1986	1989	1990	1991	1996	1997	1998	1999	2004
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Buy as soon as possible	74	78	70	60	54	61	61	65	71
Wait a bit	20	17	24	31	35	30	30	29	24
Not buy	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	1
Can't choose	4	3	5	5	7	6	7	3	3
Base	1416	1297	1233	1224	3085	1080	2531	2450	2609

The fluctuation shown in Table 2.4 corresponds very clearly with the fortunes of the housing market. This is illustrated in Figure 2.2, which shows both the annual change in UK house prices (indicated by the black line, which is plotted against the left-hand axis) and the proportion of people choosing the “buy a home as soon as possible” option in those years in which we included the question on our surveys (the single points, which are plotted against the right-hand axis).

For example, by 1989, the height of the house price boom, enthusiasm for immediate home ownership stood at 78%, only to fall markedly during the recession of the early 1990s and the associated fall in property prices. During this period, increasing numbers of households were unable to meet their mortgage payments, many became trapped in ‘negative equity’ (whereby their outstanding borrowing exceeded the value of the property), and home repossessions rose. Not surprisingly, then, attitudes toward home ownership cooled markedly, such that by 1996 the figure advocating immediate home ownership stood at only 54%. During the late 1990s, the housing market recovered and house prices recorded double-digit growth once again; by 1997, the proportion advocating buying as soon as possible had recovered to 61%. The 16th British social attitudes report speculated that if property prices continued to rise, we should see a further increase in support for home ownership (Ford and Burrows, 1999). Evidence suggests that this is indeed the case, at least to some extent. The strong growth in house prices did continue and now just over seven in ten say they would advise a young couple to buy as soon as possible.

What is also clear is that support for home ownership in general has not wavered, it is rather that people display more caution when the market is more unstable, with the proportions advising ‘waiting a bit’ or ‘can’t choose’ increasing. At no point throughout the period did the proportion advocating not buying at all exceed three percent.

Figure 2.2 Annual change in UK house prices, and attitudes to home ownership, 1985–2004



Figures are for 'mix-adjusted prices'
Source: ODPM (2005)

Table 2.5 shows how different tenure groups have responded to this question over time. Among owner-occupiers and those renting from a local authority, significantly more people now would advise a newly-married couple to buy as soon as possible than would have done so five years ago. However, this increase has not been as strong amongst housing association tenants with the proportion in 2004 only slightly higher (38%) than in 1996 (33%).

Table 2.5 Advice to a newly-married couple about housing, by current tenure over time

	Owner-occupiers				Local authority tenants				HA ⁺ tenants			
	'89	'96	'99	'04	'89	'96	'99	'04	'96	'99	'04	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Buy as soon as possible	88	62	72	78	50	30	38	46	33	36	38	
Wait a bit	10	30	23	18	36	50	45	41	47	53	46	
Not buy	1	2	1	*	3	5	5	2	6	4	3	
Can't choose	1	5	2	2	10	13	9	9	14	7	11	
Base	936	2121	1763	1934	272	565	364	257	111	136	161	

+ Housing association

Given the current interest in the views of housing association tenants, it is relevant to consider why views have not changed as markedly as for other tenures. Tenure is strongly related to income, so it is important to consider whether financial well-being might be a factor underpinning the caution exhibited by housing association tenants. Table 2.6 shows that although in 2004, those earning £15,000 or more were more likely to advise a young couple to buy as soon as possible than those below this income threshold, the increase in the proportion of people advocating this was fairly consistent for both groups, suggesting that low incomes are not the cause. In 2004, 77% of those with an income of £15,000 or more advised buying as soon as possible, a 15 percentage point increase since 1996. Among those with lower household income, the increase was 14 percentage points over the same period. Furthermore, if low income were to explain the apparent caution among housing association tenants, one would also expect to observe comparatively small increases

in enthusiasm for owner-occupation among local authority tenants, however, this is not the case.

Table 2.6 People's attitudes to ownership by income, 1996–2004

% newly-married couple should buy as soon as possible	1996	1999	2004
Below £15,000	45	55	59
£15,000 or more	62	72	77
Base below £15,000	1437	1072	857
Base above £15,000	1359	1158	1478

This suggests that perhaps there is some other factor particular to housing association tenants that has meant that their level of support for home ownership has not increased to the same extent as the other tenure groups. One reason for this could be the changing profile of housing association tenants. Alongside the growth in the size of the housing association sector, there has been an accompanying change in the profile of tenants. Housing association tenants as a whole contain a greater proportion of those on state benefits and a lower percentage of people in work. Since each of these factors is associated with lower enthusiasm for owner occupation, this may explain why the housing association sector as a whole has not seen larger increases in interest in owner-occupation.

Young people's attitudes to home ownership

Tenure is also strongly related to age, with younger people being far less likely to own their accommodation than older groups, for obvious reasons. Consequently, this group contains many potential owners and so it is worth examining their views and how they have changed over time. Table 2.7 shows the long-term trend in the response of different age groups to the question about the advice they would give to a newly-married couple. It confirms that there is a strong relationship between enthusiasm for owner-occupation and age, with older groups consistently being keener on home ownership than younger ones².

It is also important to consider whether the 'gap' between young people's views and those of the general population has remained constant, or whether it is changing over time. To do this, the table compares the views of three groups: 18–24 year olds, 25–34 year olds and those aged 35 and above. In 1986, when the question was first asked, the 'gap' between the proportion of those aged 18–24 who advocated home ownership and the equivalent proportion among those aged 35 and over stood at 18 percentage points, a gap which remained fairly consistent until 1999. Now, however, the gap stands at 31 points. This illustrates the fact that, while the proportion of those aged 25 and older who advocate home ownership increased significantly between 1999 and 2004, no similar increase occurred among 18–24 year olds.

A number of potential explanations have been put forward to account for this, including the residual effect of the last house price recession, worsening affordability, increased debt, the improved mobility associated with renting, and the delayed onset of marriage and childbearing (Smith, 2005).

² This appears to be in contrast with the attitudes of housing association tenants however, as Table 2.2 showed that 18-24 year olds were more likely to advise buying as soon as possible than older people.

Table 2.7 Young people's attitudes to ownership, 1986–2004

% newly-married couple should buy as soon as can	1986	1989	1990	1991	1996	1997	1998	1999	2004
18–24	59	64	50	49	38	43	43	47	44
25–34	76	79	72	58	51	60	55	59	70
35+	77	80	73	63	57	65	65	69	75
Difference: 18–24 & 35+	-18	-15	-23	-14	-20	-21	-22	-22	-31
Difference: 25–34 & 35+	-1	-1	-1	-5	-6	-4	-10	-10	-5
Base 18–24	184	144	154	141	238	81	186	165	181
Base 25–34	266	248	246	239	637	233	520	448	419
Base 35+	966	899	827	839	2202	766	1818	1835	2006

Preferred landlord

As we have seen above, four in five people would prefer to own their own home, given the choice. In order to understand more clearly people's preferences for landlords, people were asked from whom they would prefer to rent, if they were to rent their accommodation. Given the choice of the local authority, a housing association, a private landlord or some other landlord, opinion was fairly balanced overall. As Table 2.8 shows, a slightly higher proportion of people would rather rent from the local authority or a private landlord than a housing association. Just over a quarter of people (27%) state a preference for housing associations, compared with 31% and 32% of people who would prefer to rent from a private landlord and a local authority respectively.

Amongst current renters a clear pattern emerges; the majority of tenants prefer to rent from a landlord of their current type. For instance, over four-fifths (82%) of local authority tenants would prefer to rent from the local authority rather than any of the other types of landlord. Only 8% would prefer to rent from a housing association. Although the pattern is similar among housing association tenants, with 70% preferring to rent from their current type of landlord, 23% would prefer to rent from a local authority. The least loyal of all were private renters, just over half of whom would opt to stay with their current type of landlord. One in five would opt for local authority housing, and a further 13% a housing association property. There was no clear pattern among the largest group of all, owner-occupiers, who were equally split between the three landlords in question.

An obvious question then becomes: why is it that housing association tenants are less 'loyal' to their current tenure than local authority tenants? A possible explanation is that feelings of 'better the devil you know...' may be greater among local authority tenants than among their counterparts in housing association accommodation. Given that a significant element of the increase in the size of the housing association sector has been due to the transfer of stock from local authority control to housing associations, it is likely that a greater proportion of housing association tenants are ex-local authority tenants than the other way around. Data from the Survey of English housing would seem to support this assertion. Of households who had recently moved into housing association properties, 21% had previously rented from a local authority. However, of those recently moving into local authority properties, only six percent had previously rented from a housing association (Robinson et al., 2004). So, if a lower proportion of local authority tenants have experience of housing

association landlords than vice versa, then we might expect the former to show more loyalty toward their current landlord than the latter.

The greater opportunity for purchasing local authority accommodation afforded by the Right to Buy scheme may also account for why some housing association tenants are keen to get into local authority accommodation.

A third potential explanation is provided by the relative age profiles of the two different types of social tenant. Housing association tenants include a slightly higher proportion of younger people, and younger groups are more likely to express a preference for a different type of tenure other than their own.

A fourth possible answer is provided by comparing the responses of groups with different tenancy preferences to questions about the good and bad points about being a housing association tenant³. This shows that housing association tenants who would prefer to rent from the local authority were more likely to identify “little choice over what happens to the property” and “rents are too high” as bad points than those who would rather remain housing association tenants (43% compared with 15%, and 42% compared with 19% respectively). This suggests that unhappiness with the stock transfer process itself and higher levels of rents may have influenced the views of these particular tenants.

As to why overall preferences are slightly skewed toward local authorities, the most obvious explanation is a simple lack of awareness of the merits of housing associations. Research by the National Housing Federation confirms that among the general population, there are higher levels of knowledge about local authority housing than about housing associations (Greensitt, 2001). People are probably less likely to say they would prefer to rent from a type of landlord they know very little about.

Table 2.8 Preferred landlord by current tenure

	Owner-occupiers	Local authority tenants	HA⁺ tenants	Private tenants	All
	%	%	%	%	%
Council/local authority	29	82	23	19	32
Housing association	29	8	70	13	27
Private landlord	33	6	3	56	31
Some other landlord	2	*	2	4	2
Base	2303	352	210	297	3199

+ Housing association

Future intentions

So far this chapter has focused on people’s general aspirations, either by asking what advice they would give to others, or by specifically asking them about their own ideal. In practice, of course, people face a number of constraints on their behaviour, most notably their financial circumstances. Given this, respondents were asked

³ These questions are considered in more detail in Chapter 3.

whether they themselves planned to move over the next two years and, if this was likely, what sort of tenure they would move into.

Table 2.9 indicates that a quarter of all tenants are planning to move in the next two years. Private renters are significantly more likely to move than the other groups, with six in ten (59%) private renters saying that they plan to move. Of those people who plan to move home in the next two years, nearly two-thirds are planning to become owner-occupiers (63%). Three-quarters of current owner-occupiers plan to buy their future home and just under half of private renters plan to do so (76% and 47% respectively). Only 2% of current owner-occupiers and 17% of private renters plan to move into social sector housing.

Table 2.9 Likelihood of moving in next two years and planned tenure, by current tenure

	Owner-occupiers	Local authority tenants	HA ⁺ tenants	Private renters	All
% likely to move in next two years	22	19	26	59	25
Base	2303	352	210	297	3199
Planned tenure of new accommodation	%	%	%	%	%
Owner-occupier (buying)	76	27	24	47	63
Rent – council/local authority	1	38	22	10	7
Rent – housing association	1	17	33	7	5
Rent – private landlord	12	8	13	21	14
Shared ownership	1	2	5	2	2
Live with friends/relatives	4	3	0	7	4
Sheltered accommodation	1	3	3	1	1
Base*	468	71	53	161	763

+ Housing association

* Based on all those who plan to move in the next two years

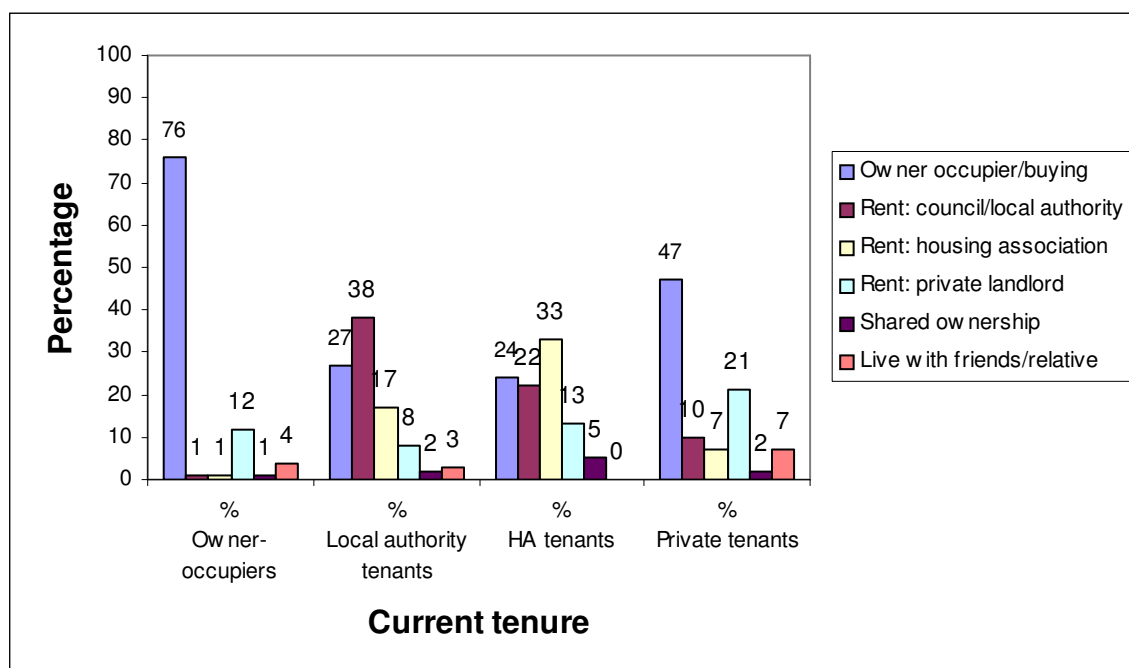
The majority of social renters plan to remain in this sector. Thirty-eight percent of local authority tenants looking to move plan to move to another local authority property and a third of housing association tenants plan to remain in a housing association property. Only a small proportion of all housing association tenants as a whole plan to move into owner-occupier accommodation in the next two years. The sample size for this group is too small for any meaningful analysis to be done.

If we assume that people's expectations are accurate, it is possible to make a very rough prediction as to if, and how, the size of the owner-occupied sector will change in the next two years. Of course, in reality, intentions do not always match behaviour – especially when looking at a period as long as two years. Additionally, over the next two years, some households will die out and other, newly formed ones, will take their place (whose intentions we do not know). Putting these caveats aside, however, such an analysis would suggest that there will be little change in the size of the owner-occupied sector. That is, the number of renters who plan to buy is similar to the number of owners who plan to move into rented accommodation. This lends support to the theory that it will be increasingly difficult to narrow the 'home ownership gap' (Smith, 2005). It also appears to resonate with other evidence which suggests that there is some scepticism about the continued ease of getting onto the

property ladder, with most thinking that future generations will find it more difficult to own their own homes (ODPM, 2004).

A similar analysis suggests that the same is true of housing associations, in that the size will also change very little over the coming two years. The number of people planning to move out of housing association accommodation is similar to the number of people planning to move into this sector. However, the continuation of the Large Scale Voluntary Stock Transfer programme is likely to contribute to the continued growth of the housing association sector in the future.

Figure 2.3 Planned tenure of those planning to move in next two years, by current tenure



Base: all those who plan to move in the next two years

Summary

- Owner-occupation is the preferred tenure for the majority (82%) of people.
- Although not as enthusiastic as current owners, there nonetheless remains a substantial proportion (45%) of housing association tenants who would like to own their own home. This is higher among those who are younger and those with a higher income.
- Enthusiasm for home ownership has increased markedly in recent years, however, these increases have not occurred among younger people. They have also not occurred among housing association tenants. One possible explanation for this might be the changing profile of housing association tenants.
- Housing association tenants also appear to be less loyal towards their landlords than other renters. This is perhaps due to the fact that there is greater awareness of local authorities among housing association tenants than vice versa (due to the LSVT programme), or may be due to the availability of the 'right to buy' local authority properties.

CLOSE BOX

Perceptions of landlords

Although housing associations have existed for a long time, recent years have seen considerable growth in the number of tenants in housing association properties (housing associations now account for over a third of social sector housing). It is therefore appropriate to consider how housing associations are viewed, both by the population at large and by housing association tenants. The chapter starts by comparing respondents' views of three different types of landlords: councils, housing associations and private landlords. The focus then turns to housing associations in particular and what people perceive to be the main advantages and disadvantages of being one of their tenants.

Perceptions of landlords

Respondents were asked for their views of different types of landlord on a number of issues. For councils, housing associations and private landlords they were asked the following:

- From what you know or have heard, how good or bad do you think they are at...
- ...providing a good standard of repairs and maintenance in their homes?
- ...charging reasonable rents?
- ...allowing tenants to stay in their homes as long as they want to?
- ...providing housing in good neighbourhoods?

Respondents were asked whether they thought each type of landlord was 'nearly always good', 'often good', 'sometimes good, sometimes bad', 'often bad' or 'nearly always bad' on each issue. This chapter focuses on two groups; those who thought landlords were 'good' and those who thought landlords were 'bad'.

First, with regard to repairs and maintenance, housing associations are viewed more favourably than councils and private landlords. Thirty-seven percent say that housing associations are good, compared with 27% for councils and 16% for private landlords. One in ten people believe that councils are bad at providing a good standard of repairs and maintenance but private landlords are seen in the most negative light, with a quarter of respondents regarding them as bad.

It is notable that nearly a quarter (24%) of respondents are unable to choose an answer for housing associations, compared with 14% for councils and 16% for private landlords. This in itself is an important finding since it illustrates that, although there has been a relatively quick growth in the size of this sector, levels of awareness of the services that it provides have not yet reached the levels of the other two types of landlord. In order to account for this in our analysis, we developed a mean score based only on those who were able to choose an answer. This is calculated by attributing respondents who said "nearly always good" a score of five, those who said "often good" a score of four and so on until those who said "nearly always bad" are assigned a score of one. Therefore, the higher the mean score for any group of respondents, the more favourable that group's views generally are. This enables an easier comparison of the different types of landlord. Private landlords have the lowest mean score (2.9) indicating that they are seen least favourably with regard to the

standard of repairs and maintenance that they provide. Housing associations have the highest mean score (3.5) and so are seen most positively when it comes to providing a good standard of repairs and maintenance.

Focusing just on the views of the landlords' own tenants, housing association tenants appear to be most convinced that their landlords provide a good standard of repairs and maintenance. Six in ten say that their landlord provides a good service.

Table 3.1 Views on “providing a good standard of repairs and maintenance”

	All			Among own tenants		
	Council	HA ⁺	Private landlords	Council	HA ⁺	Private landlords
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nearly always or often good	27	37	16	51	60	34
Sometimes good, sometimes bad	45	32	41	32	23	40
Often or nearly always bad	11	5	25	12	14	19
Can't choose	14	24	16	2	1	7
Base	2609	2609	2609	257	161	232
Mean score	3.2	3.5	2.9	3.6	3.7	3.2
Base (mean)	2184	1943	2115	244	155	218

+ Housing association

Table 3.2 shows people's views of rent levels. Social sector landlords are seen much more favourably than private landlords, with around four in ten saying that council and housing association landlords are good at charging reasonable rents compared with one in ten for private landlords. Overall, a third think that private landlords are bad, compared with less than one in ten for social landlords. There is little difference between perceptions of councils and housing associations on this issue.

Table 3.2 Views on “charging reasonable rents”

	Overall			Among own tenants		
	Council	HA ⁺	Private landlords	Council	HA ⁺	Private landlords
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nearly always or often good	42	38	10	56	55	19
Sometimes good, sometimes bad	30	27	38	20	20	41
Often or nearly always bad	9	7	34	14	19	32
Can't choose	17	25	16	6	4	6
Base	2609	2609	2609	257	161	232
Mean score	3.5	3.5	2.7	3.7	3.5	2.8
Base (mean)	2095	1901	2093	231	149	218

+ Housing association

When asked how good each type of landlord is at allowing tenants to stay in their homes as long as they want to, councils are seen as slightly better. Half of respondents say that councils are good at offering security of tenure, the mean score

for councils is 3.8, higher than the 3.6 for housing associations. Amongst their own tenants, seven in ten of council and housing association tenants regard their landlord as good at allowing tenants to stay in their homes as long as they want to. The majority of private sector tenants have assured shorthold contracts, which usually run for a fixed period of time. It is unsurprising therefore, that private landlords are viewed much less favourably in this respect.

Table 3.3 Views on “allowing tenants to stay in their homes as long as they want to”

	Overall			Among own tenants		
	Council	HA ⁺	Private landlords	Council	HA ⁺	Private landlords
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nearly always or often good	50	39	13	73	70	29
Sometimes good, sometimes bad	23	26	39	14	16	38
Often or nearly always bad	4	3	26	3	6	23
Can't choose	20	29	20	7	5	9
Base	2609	2609	2609	257	161	232
Mean score	3.8	3.6	2.8	4.2	4.0	3.1
Base (mean)	2014	1782	2001	230	147	212

+ Housing association

Table 3.4 shows that in general, councils are seen least favourably with regard to providing housing in good neighbourhoods. Nearly a quarter (23%) of respondents say that councils are bad at providing housing in good neighbourhoods compared with one in ten for housing association landlords. In fact, housing associations are seen most favourably, with a mean score of 3.3 compared with 3.1 for private landlords and 2.9 for councils.

Table 3.4 Views on “providing housing in good neighbourhoods”

	Overall			Among own tenants		
	Council	HA ⁺	Private landlords	Council	HA ⁺	Private landlords
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nearly always or often good	19	27	23	41	46	42
Sometimes good, sometimes bad	39	36	42	33	34	39
Often or nearly always bad	23	10	13	18	15	8
Can't choose	17	24	19	5	3	10
Base	2609	2609	2609	257	161	232
Mean score	2.9	3.3	3.1	3.4	3.5	3.5
Base (mean)	2101	1901	2015	236	151	210

+ Housing association

These findings suggest that housing associations are viewed more positively than local authorities as landlords, although they are also the least well known of the three types of landlords we asked about. Although local authorities fare better on the issue of security of tenure, housing associations are viewed more favourably when it

comes to repairs and maintenance, and providing homes in good neighbourhoods. This supports other evidence which suggests that housing association tenants tend to be more satisfied than local authority tenants with their landlords (Robinson et al, 2004).

Good and bad points about housing associations

Having compared housing associations with councils and private landlords, the focus now turns to look at perceptions of housing associations more generally. Respondents were asked to select three good and three bad points about being a housing association tenant from those listed on the next two tables.

Table 3.5 shows that amongst all respondents, fair rent was the most frequently mentioned positive aspect of housing associations, chosen by two in five people (41%). The general state of repair of their homes was also frequently mentioned; four of the top six aspects mentioned by all respondents relate to the quality of their housing or state of repair. The table also shows the views of housing association tenants. An equal proportion of these regard fair rent as one of the main good points of being a housing association tenant. However, half of housing association tenants mentioned a good repairs and maintenance service, making it the most frequently acknowledged aspect. More housing association tenants value this than the population at large.

Homes being kept in a good state of repair and the fact that renting from a housing association is cheaper than buying were also in the top six aspects mentioned by housing association tenants. Current housing association tenants, however, are more likely to regard having friendly neighbours as a positive aspect of housing association accommodation, with 16% mentioning this, compared with just four percent of all respondents. Having access to tenants' associations and to support services do not seem to be as highly valued by housing association tenants as amongst the respondents as a whole.

3.5 Good points about housing associations

	All	HA ⁺ tenants
% mentioning:		
Fair rent	41	41
Good repairs and maintenance service	30	50
Cheaper than buying	26	19
Homes are kept in a good state of repair	18	19
Good quality housing	17	14
Housing associations provide decent homes	14	11
Good landlords	14	17
Being able to choose where to live	11	14
Better than being a council tenant	10	10
Access to other housing association services	7	9
Access to tenants' associations	5	2
More choice over what happens to the property	5	5
Access to support services	5	2
Housing associations provide modern homes	5	5
Friendly neighbours	4	16
Don't know	19	5
Base	3199	210

+ Housing association

Perceptions of the bad points of housing associations amongst all respondents tend to relate to more general aspects of the tenure itself rather than to particular aspects within the control of the landlords. For example, two of the top three bad points most frequently cited relate to the fact that housing association tenants do not own their own homes. A third of people (34%) mention the fact that housing association tenants do not own their property as a main bad point and 26% see being unable to invest in the housing market as a key negative aspect of being a housing association tenant. This is likely to reflect the general preference for owner-occupation that was noted earlier. Fewer housing association tenants mention the fact that they cannot invest in the housing market as a bad point about housing associations, perhaps reflecting the fact that home ownership is not such a strong desire for this group. Instead, a quarter of current housing association tenants mention rents being too high as a main bad point, while 19% cite poor repairs and maintenance service.

3.6 Bad points about HAs

	All	HA ⁺ tenants
% mentioning:		
Don't own property	34	32
Antisocial neighbours	31	32
Can't invest in the housing market	26	19
Little choice over what happens to the property	25	22
Little choice over house type	18	17
The location of their homes	17	13
Rents are too high	11	25
Poor repairs and maintenance services	7	19
Bad landlords	6	5
Having to deal with tenants' associations	5	3
Poor quality housing	4	5
Homes are kept in a poor state of repair	3	2
Homes are of a poor standard	3	4
Don't know	23	8
Base	3199	210

+ Housing association

There was some variation in the views of housing association tenants of different ages. Having good landlords appears to be a more important feature to those aged 35 and above than for the younger group. One fifth of older housing association tenants mention this, compared with just eight percent of younger tenants. With regard to the perceived bad points of housing associations, a poor repairs and maintenance service is chosen by 28% of 18 to 34 year olds compared with 16% of those aged over 35. Most interestingly however, two in five (43%) of the younger group see the fact that they do not own their home as a key bad point, compared with 27% of tenants aged above 35.

This gives support to the findings in Table 2.2, where a higher proportion of young housing association tenants said that they would advise a couple to buy as soon as possible, than older ones. However, these findings should be seen against the general finding that among the population as a whole, younger people are less enthusiastic about home ownership than older ones.

Summary

- In comparison with other types of landlords, housing associations appear to be the least well known. However, those who felt able to give an opinion of them, generally perceived them in a positive light.
- They fare particularly well with regard to repairs and maintenance and the provision of homes in good neighbourhoods.
- The main perceived drawbacks to being a housing association tenant relate to general aspects of the tenure, such as not owning one's own home.
- Fewer existing housing association tenants however, perceive the fact they are unable to invest in the housing market as a negative point of their tenure, perhaps reflecting the fact that ownership is not as strong an aspiration amongst this group. Conversely, younger tenants are more inclined to regard not owning their own home as a bad thing.

Perceptions of the role of housing associations

Housing associations are performing an increasingly greater role as provider of social housing. This chapter therefore, considers people's perceptions of what this role does, or should, constitute. The first section considers who people think housing associations currently provide for. This incorporates particular characteristics of housing association tenants as well as whether people feel that this type of housing would be available to them. The second section then looks at what role people think housing associations should perform by asking who they should be targeting.

Perceptions of characteristics of housing association tenants

In order to investigate people's perceptions of the role that housing associations currently perform, it is important to consider who currently occupies this type of housing. Respondents were prompted with three statements regarding the characteristics of housing association tenants and asked if they thought that each one was true or false. In order to assess if people have an accurate perception of these tenants, the results are compared with survey results of existing tenants (Maydew et al, forthcoming).

One noticeable feature was that around two in five of the British social attitudes survey respondents felt unable to give a response for each of the statements. This further supports our earlier assertion that people have a lack of knowledge with regard housing associations and their tenants. For ease of comparison, tables 4.1, 4.3 and 4.5 include only those who did offer an answer.

Table 4.1 shows responses to the statement that "most housing association tenants have a job". The majority (63%) think that this is an accurate description.

Table 4.1 Views on "most housing association tenants have jobs"

	Owner-occupiers	Local authority tenants	HA⁺ tenants	Private tenants	All
	%	%	%	%	%
Definitely true	4	10	6	5	5
Probably true	61	49	51	51	59
Probably false	29	33	33	41	31
Definitely false	6	9	10	3	6
Base*	1302	197	163	149	1832

+ Housing association

* Based on all those giving an answer

The findings from the survey of existing housing association tenants however, suggests that in fact, only one quarter (24%) of tenants are either in full or part-time employment. The figures in the third column of table 4.2 are taken from the COntinuous REcording of lettings system (CORE), which monitors details of new lettings. This shows that 29% of new lettings in 2002/3 were to people who were employed. Both of these figures indicate that in this respect, people would not seem to have an accurate idea of the economic status of housing association tenants.

Table 4.2 Economic status of housing association tenants

Economic status	Survey 2004	CORE 2002/3
	%	%
In employment (full and part-time)	24	29
In employment full-time	17	23
In employment part-time	7	6
Government training schemes	*	*
Unemployed	7	15
Retired	37	20
Home/not seeking work	17	21
Long term sick/disabled	9	11
Full-time student	1	1
Base	9240	152531

Source: Survey of existing housing association tenants

The second statement said, “most housing association tenants are dependent on state benefits”. Again, the majority of people believe this to be correct; seven percent say that it was definitely true and 53% that it was probably true. There is little variation between the tenures, except that housing association tenants are the most likely to say that it was definitely true. The figures in Table 4.4 reveal that the majority of housing association tenants do receive some level of benefit. Over half (53%) of existing tenants and the same proportion of new housing association lettings were wholly dependent on state benefits. The survey found that over three-quarters (77%) of households in housing association accommodation are at least partly reliant on state benefits. People generally therefore, seem to be more accurately informed with regards to housing association tenants and receipt of state benefits.

Table 4.3 Views on “most housing association tenants are dependent on state benefits”

	Owner-occupiers	Local authority tenants	HA ⁺ tenants	Private tenants	All
	%	%	%	%	%
Definitely true	7	8	15	2	7
Probably true	53	54	50	58	53
Probably false	36	32	31	38	35
Definitely false	5	5	4	2	4
Base*	1379	204	175	171	1947

+ Housing association

* Based on all those giving an answer

Table 4.4 The receipt of state benefit for housing association tenants

	Survey 2004	CORE 2002/3
	%	%
Wholly from state benefits/pensions	53	53
Partly from state benefits/pensions	24	15
No state benefit/pensions (excluding child, housing and council tax benefits)	13	21
Base	9240	152791

Source: Survey of existing housing association tenants

The final statement suggested that, “most housing association tenants have school age children living with them”. Once more, the majority of those who feel that they could respond to this statement agree with it. Eighty-four percent say that it is true,

the highest proportion of all of the statements. The proportion saying that it is definitely true is also high (12%). However, the data from Table 4.6 does not support this assertion. Just under a third (30%) of existing housing association households include a child of school age and a third of new lettings do so.

Table 4.5 Views on “Most housing association tenants have school age children living with them”

	Owner-occupiers	Local authority tenants	HA ⁺ tenants	Private tenants	All
	%	%	%	%	%
Definitely true	10	17	25	11	12
Probably true	73	70	58	74	72
Probably false	15	12	16	14	14
Definitely false	2	2	2	1	2
Base*	1401	218	177	180	1996

+ Housing association

* Based on all those giving an answer

Table 4.6 Household composition of housing association tenants

	Survey 2004	CORE 2002/3
	%	%
One older	25 ^a	17
Two older	6 ^a	4
One adult	17 ^b	33
Two adults	9 ^b	8
Lone parent family	15 ^c	21
Two parent family	15 ^c	12
Base	9240	153500

^aaged 65 years or over ^baged 16-64 years ^cat least one child under 16 years.

Source: Survey of existing housing association tenants

The results suggest that in general, people do not have a strong view of the characteristics of housing association tenants, and among those that do, these are not always accurate. Most people are correct in thinking that the majority of housing association tenants receive some level of state benefit but they over-estimate the level of employment and are incorrect about the household composition of most tenants⁴.

Another way of looking at general perceptions of housing association tenants is to look at responses to the statement “Housing associations do not provide housing for people like me”. Overall two-fifths agree with this statement (Table 4.7). Owner-occupiers are the most adamant that this is the case, with 44% agreeing. Local authority tenants are the group most likely to disagree with the statement but a quarter of this group say that they neither agree nor disagree, indicating some uncertainty about this type of tenure, even from within the social sector.

Table 4.7 Views on “Housing associations do not provide housing for people like me”

⁴ Of course, these two factors are associated; the survey of existing tenants found that 37 percent of its respondents were retired and so it is not surprising that a high proportion of households contained no children of school age.

	Owner-occupiers	Local authority tenants	Private tenants	All
	%	%	%	%
Agree strongly	13	2	8	11
Agree	31	16	30	29
Neither agree nor disagree	22	25	18	22
Disagree	22	36	27	23
Disagree strongly	3	7	3	4
Base*	2303	352	297	2989

*Based on all those not currently renting from housing association

Overall, 41% of people feel that housing association property is not provided for people such as themselves. It is therefore worth looking at the characteristics of people more likely to agree. Once more, income appears to have an important influence on people's opinions, as those with an income of £15,000 or more are more likely to agree with the statement than those with an income less than this. Nearly half (47%) of those in the upper band say that housing association properties are not for people like them compared with 29% of those on the lower income. Earlier, we saw that the majority of people believe that most housing association tenants have jobs. It is therefore interesting that those who were employed are more likely to say that housing associations do not provide homes for them compared with non-working respondents (44% and 36% respectively).

The majority of people also believe that most housing association tenants are on benefits and many of those surveyed who are not receiving benefits feel that this type of housing is not aimed at them (46% compared with 38% of those on benefits). The pattern is not so clear with regard to children; 40% of those with children and 41% of those without children feel that housing associations do not provide housing for people like them. However, a higher proportion of those with children disagree with the statement compared with those without (32% and 26% respectively).

Who housing associations should target

This section looks at what role housing associations should perform. Respondents were asked:

Who do you think Housing Association homes should mainly be for?

People on very low incomes

People on very low incomes and people like nurses and teachers if local property is very expensive

Anyone regardless of their income

Overall, as Table 4.8 shows, more people think that housing association accommodation should be available for people on low incomes and key workers than think that they should only be for those on low incomes or for anyone regardless (39% compared with 26 and 28%). There is a notable difference between tenure groups however, as local authority and housing association tenants are more likely than other tenure groups to say that housing associations should target anyone regardless of income. Just under a half (48%) of housing association tenants and 39% of local authority tenants are of this view. This is interesting, given that these are

the two same groups which are most likely to be negatively affected by the increased competition for properties which such a policy would entail, and perhaps can be seen to reflect a desire for social housing to occupy more socially mixed environments.

Table 4.8 Who housing association homes should mainly be for, by current tenure

	Owner- occupiers	Local authori ty tenants	HA⁺ tenants	Private tenants	All
	%	%	%	%	%
People on very low incomes	25	32	24	27	26
Nurses, teachers and people on very low incomes	43	22	26	39	39
Anyone regardless of income	26	39	48	24	28
Base	2303	352	210	297	3199

+ Housing association

Summary

- Knowledge of the characteristics of housing associations is by no means universal. Many respondents are simply unable to indicate which types of people they think live in housing association accommodation and among those who are, not all are accurate.
- The employment status of housing association tenants for instance, is over-estimated and considerably less households have children than is generally perceived.
- With regard to who housing associations should provide for, it is generally felt that this should be those on low incomes as well as key workers. However, those who are themselves social sector tenants are more inclined to say that this type of housing should be for anyone regardless of income.

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Technical appendix

In 2004, the sample for the British Social Attitudes survey was split into three sections: versions A, B and C each made up a third of the sample. Depending on the number of versions in which it was included, each 'module' of questions was thus asked either of the full sample (3,199 respondents) or of a random two-thirds or one-third of the sample.

Sample design

The British social attitudes survey is designed to yield a representative sample of adults aged 18 or over. Since 1993, the sampling frame for the survey has been the Postcode Address File (PAF), a list of addresses (or postal delivery points) compiled by the Post Office.¹

For practical reasons, the sample is confined to those living in private households. People living in institutions (though not in private households at such institutions) are excluded, as are households whose addresses were not on the PAF.

The sampling method involved a multi-stage design, with three separate stages of selection.

Selection of sectors

At the first stage, postcode sectors were selected systematically from a list of all postal sectors in Great Britain. Before selection, any sectors with fewer than 500 addresses were identified and grouped together with an adjacent sector; in Scotland all sectors north of the Caledonian Canal were excluded (because of the prohibitive costs of interviewing there). Sectors were then stratified on the basis of:

- 37 sub-regions
- population density with variable banding used, in order to create three equal-sized strata per sub-region
- ranking by percentage of homes that were owner-occupied in England and Wales and percentage of homes where the head of household was non-manual in Scotland.

Two hundred postcode sectors were selected, with probability proportional to the number of addresses in each sector.

Selection of addresses

Thirty-one addresses were selected in each of the 200 sectors. The issued sample was therefore $200 \times 31 = 6,200$ addresses, selected by starting from a random point on the list of addresses for each sector, and choosing each address at a fixed interval. The fixed interval was calculated for each sector in order to generate the correct number of addresses.

The Multiple-Output Indicator (MOI) available through PAF was used when selecting addresses in Scotland. The MOI shows the number of accommodation spaces sharing one address. Thus, if the MOI indicates more than one accommodation space at a given address, the chances of the given address being selected from the list of addresses would increase so that it matched the total number of accommodation spaces. The MOI is largely irrelevant in England and Wales as separate dwelling units generally appear as separate entries on PAF. In Scotland, tenements with many flats tend to appear as one entry on PAF. However, even in Scotland, the vast majority of MOIs had a value of one. The remainder, which ranged between three and 13, were incorporated into the weighting procedures (described below).

Selection of individuals

Interviewers called at each address selected from PAF and listed all those eligible for inclusion in the British Social Attitudes sample – that is, all persons currently aged 18 or over and resident at the selected address. The interviewer then selected one respondent using a computer-generated random selection procedure. Where there were two or more households or 'dwelling units' at the selected address, interviewers first had to select one household or dwelling unit using the same random procedure. They then followed the same procedure to select a person for interview.

Weighting

Data were weighted to take account of the fact that not all the units covered in the survey had the same probability of selection. The weighting reflects the relative selection probabilities of the individual at the three main stages of selection: address, household and individual. First, because addresses in Scotland were selected using the MOI, weights had to be applied to compensate for the greater probability of an address with an MOI of more than one being selected, compared to an address with an MOI of one. (This stage was omitted for the English and Welsh data.) Secondly, data were weighted to compensate for the fact that dwelling units at an address which contained a large number of dwelling units were less likely to be selected for inclusion in the survey than ones which did not share an address. (We use this procedure because in most cases where the MOI is greater than one, the two stages will cancel each other out, resulting in more efficient weights.) Thirdly, data were weighted to compensate for the lower selection probabilities of adults living in large households compared with those in small households. The weights were capped at 6.00 (causing two cases to have their weights reduced). The resulting weight is called 'WtFactor' and the distribution of weights is shown in Table A.1.

Table A.1 Distribution of unscaled and scaled weights

Unscaled weight	Number	%	Scaled weight
0.0769	1	0.0	0.0425
0.0833	1	0.0	0.0461
0.0909	1	0.0	0.0503
0.1000	1	0.0	0.0553
0.1111	1	0.0	0.0614
0.1667	2	0.1	0.0922
0.2500	2	0.1	0.1382
0.2857	1	0.0	0.1580
0.3333	1	0.0	0.1843
0.3750	1	0.0	0.2074
0.5000	1	0.0	0.2765
0.7500	2	0.1	0.4147
1.0000	1142	35.7	0.5530
2.0000	1653	51.7	1.1059
3.0000	254	7.9	1.6589
4.0000	111	3.5	1.2118
5.0000	17	0.5	2.7648
6.0000	7	0.2	3.3177

Base: 3199

The mean weight was 1.81. The weights were then scaled down to make the number of weighted productive cases exactly equal to the number of unweighted productive cases (n =3,199).

All the percentages presented in this report are based on weighted data.

Questionnaire versions

Each address in each sector (sampling point) was allocated to either the A, B or C portion of the sample. If one serial number was version A, the next was version B and the third version C. Thus, each interviewer was allocated 10 or 11 cases from each of versions A, B and C. There were 2,067 issued addresses for versions A and B and 2,066 for version C.

Fieldwork

Interviewing was mainly carried out between June and September 2004, with a small number of interviews taking place in October and November.

Table A.2 Response rate on British Social Attitudes, 2004

	Number	%
Addresses issued	6,200	
Vacant, derelict and other out of scope	540	
In scope	5,660	100.0
Interview achieved	3,199	56.5
Interview not achieved	2,461	43.5
Refused ¹	1,881	33.2
Non-contacted ²	305	5.4
Other non-response	275	4.9

1 'Refused' comprises refusals before selection of an individual at the address, refusals to the office, refusal by the selected person, 'proxy' refusals (on behalf of the selected respondent) and broken appointments after which the selected person could not be recontacted

2 'Non-contacted' comprises households where no one was contacted and those where the selected person could not be contacted

Fieldwork was conducted by interviewers drawn from the National Centre for Social Research's regular panel and conducted using face-to-face computer-assisted interviewing.² Interviewers attended a one-day briefing conference to familiarise them with the selection procedures and questionnaires.

The mean interview length was 68 minutes for versions A and B of the questionnaire, and 63 minutes for version C.³ Interviewers achieved an overall response rate of 57%. Details are shown in Table A.2.

As in earlier rounds of the series, the respondent was asked to fill in a self-completion questionnaire which, whenever possible, was collected by the interviewer. Otherwise, the respondent was asked to post it to the National Centre for Social Research. If necessary, up to three postal reminders were sent to obtain the self-completion supplement.

A total of 590 respondents (18% of those interviewed) did not return their self-completion questionnaire. Version A of the self-completion questionnaire was returned by 80% of respondents to the face-to-face interview, version B by 82% and version C by 83%. As in previous rounds, we judged that it was not necessary to apply additional weights to correct for non-response.

Advance letter

Interviewers were supplied with letters describing the purpose of the survey and the coverage of the questionnaire, which they posted to sampled addresses before making any calls.⁴

Sampling errors

No sample precisely reflects the characteristics of the population it represents, because of both sampling and non-sampling errors. If a sample were designed as a random sample (if every adult had an equal and independent chance of inclusion in the sample) then we could calculate the sampling error of any percentage, p , using the formula:

$$\text{s.e. } (p) = \sqrt{\frac{p(100 - p)}{n}}$$

where n is the number of respondents on which the percentage is based. Once the sampling error had been calculated, it would be a straightforward exercise to calculate a confidence interval for the true population percentage. For example, a 95% confidence interval would be given by the formula:

$$p \pm 1.96 \times \text{s.e. } (p)$$

Clearly, for a simple random sample (srs), the sampling error depends only on the values of p and n. However, simple random sampling is almost never used in practice because of its inefficiency in terms of time and cost.

As noted above, the British Social Attitudes sample, like that drawn for most large-scale surveys, was clustered according to a stratified multi-stage design into 200 postcode sectors (or combinations of sectors). With a complex design like this, the sampling error of a percentage giving a particular response is not simply a function of the number of respondents in the sample and the size of the percentage; it also depends on how that percentage response is spread within and between sample points.

The complex design may be assessed relative to simple random sampling by calculating a range of design factors (DEFTs) associated with it, where:

$$\text{DEFT} = \sqrt{\frac{\text{Variance of estimator with complex design, sample size } n}{\text{Variance of estimator with srs design, sample size } n}}$$

and represents the multiplying factor to be applied to the simple random sampling error to produce its complex equivalent. A design factor of one means that the complex sample has achieved the same precision as a simple random sample of the same size. A design factor greater than one means the complex sample is less precise than its simple random sample equivalent. If the DEFT for a particular characteristic is known, a 95% confidence interval for a percentage may be calculated using the formula:

$$\begin{aligned} & p \pm 1.96 \times \text{complex sampling error } (p) \\ & = p \pm 1.96 \times \text{DEFT} \times \sqrt{\frac{p(100 - p)}{n}} \end{aligned}$$

Calculations of sampling errors and design effects were made using the statistical analysis package STATA.

Table A.3 gives examples of the confidence intervals and DEFTs calculated for a range of different questions. Most background variables were fielded on the whole sample, whereas many attitudinal variables were asked only of two-thirds or a third of the sample; some were asked on the interview questionnaire and some on the self-

completion supplement. The table shows that most of the questions asked of all sample members have a confidence interval of around plus or minus two to three percent of the survey proportion. This means that we can be 95% certain that the true population proportion is within two to three percent (in either direction) of the proportion we report.

Variables with much larger variation are, as might be expected, those closely related to the geographic location of the respondent (for example, whether they live in a big city, a small town or a village). Here the variation may be as large as six or seven percent either way around the percentage found on the survey. Consequently the design effects calculated for these variables in a clustered sample will be greater than the design effects calculated for variables less strongly associated with area. Also, sampling errors for proportions based only on respondents to just one of the versions of the questionnaire, or on subgroups within the sample, are larger than they would have been had the questions been asked of everyone.

Table A.3 Complex standard errors and confidence intervals of selected variables

	% (p)	Complex standard error of p	95% confidence interval	DEFT	Base
Classification variables					
Q205	Party identification (full sample)				
	Conservative	26.1	1.2	23.7–28.6	1.55
	Labour	31.6	1.3	29.1–34.2	1.57
	Liberal Democrat	12.9	0.8	11.4–14.6	1.34
Q633	Housing tenure (full sample)				
	Owns	75.4	1.0	73.3–77.4	1.36
	Rents from local authority	9.0	0.8	7.5–10.7	1.55
	Rents privately/HA	14.4	0.9	12.7–16.2	1.40
Q703	Religion (full sample)				
	No religion	43.4	1.2	41.1–45.8	1.35
	Church of England	29.0	1.3	26.5–31.6	1.61
	Roman Catholic	8.9	0.7	7.5–10.4	1.41
Q766	Age of completing continuous full-time education (full sample)				
	16 or under	55.7	1.5	52.8–58.7	1.69
	17 or 18	18.2	0.8	16.7–19.8	1.12
	19 or over	25.6	1.3	23.0–28.1	1.67
Q831	Home internet access (full sample)				
	Yes	60.2	1.3	57.6–62.7	1.47
	No	39.7	1.3	37.2–42.2	1.47
Q697	Urban or rural residence (full sample)				
	A big city	34.0	3.3	27.8–40.1	3.95
	A small city/town	43.3	3.0	37.6–49.2	3.37
	Village/countryside	22.1	2.7	17.1–28.0	3.74
Attitudinal variables (face-to-face interview)					
Q227	Benefits for the unemployed are ... (full sample)				
	... too low	23.4	1.0	21.5–25.3	1.29
	... too high	54.0	1.4	51.2–56.8	1.58
Q409	NHS should be available to those with lower incomes (full sample)				
	Support a lot	7.8	0.6	6.7–9.0	1.19
	Support a little	14.7	0.8	13.1–16.5	1.34
	Oppose a little	17.4	0.8	15.8–19.2	1.26
	Oppose a lot	58.2	1.2	55.8–60.5	1.38
Q230	Government should ... (2/3 sample)				
	Reduce tax & spend less on health, education etc.	5.6	0.7	4.4–7.1	1.35
	Keep taxes & spending as is on health, education etc.	41.7	1.1	39.4–44.0	1.07
	Increase taxes & spend more on health, education etc.	49.1	1.1	46.9–51.2	1.01
	% (p)	Complex standard error of p	95% confidence interval	DEFT	Base

Q627	Prejudiced against people of other races (1/3 sample)				
	Very / a little	27.6	1.6	24.6–30.8	1.14
	Not at all	69.9	1.7	66.5–73.1	1.19
Attitudinal variables (self-completion)					
A64a	Government should redistribute income from				
B45a	the better off to those who are less well off				
C45a	(full sample)				
	Agree strongly	6.7	0.5	5.8–7.8	1.04
	Agree	24.8	1.1	22.8–27.0	1.24
	Neither agree nor disagree	28.0	0.9	26.3–29.8	1.02
	Disagree	29.5	1.0	27.6–31.4	1.09
	Disagree strongly	8.8	0.7	7.5–10.3	1.27
B34b	Not good if man stays at home with children and				
C35b	woman goes out to work (2/3 of sample)				
	Agree strongly	3.4	0.5	2.6–4.5	1.05
	Agree	10.5	0.8	8.9–12.3	1.15
	Neither agree nor disagree	30.4	1.2	28.1–32.8	1.09
	Disagree	38.3	1.3	35.7–40.9	1.14
	Disagree strongly	13.3	1.1	11.3–15.5	1.30
C12a	How important to cut down on number of cars				
	(1/3 of sample)				
	Very important	26.2	1.6	23.1–29.6	1.09
	Fairly important	46.0	1.7	42.3–49.4	1.01
	Not very / Not at all important	21.4	1.7	18.2–25.0	1.23

Notes

1. Until 1991 all British Social Attitudes samples were drawn from the Electoral Register (ER). However, following concern that this sampling frame might be deficient in its coverage of certain population subgroups, a ‘splicing’ experiment was conducted in 1991. We are grateful to the Market Research Development Fund for contributing towards the costs of this experiment. Its purpose was to investigate whether a switch to PAF would disrupt the time-series – for instance, by lowering response rates or affecting the distribution of responses to particular questions. In the event, it was concluded that the change from ER to PAF was unlikely to affect time trends in any noticeable ways, and that no adjustment factors were necessary. Since significant differences in efficiency exist between PAF and ER, and because we considered it untenable to continue to use a frame that is known to be biased, we decided to adopt PAF as the sampling frame for future British Social Attitudes surveys. For details of the PAF/ER ‘splicing’ experiment, see Lynn and Taylor (1995).
2. In 1993 it was decided to mount a split-sample experiment designed to test the applicability of Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) to the British Social Attitudes survey series. CAPI has been used increasingly over the past decade as an alternative to traditional interviewing techniques. As the name implies, CAPI involves the use of lap-top computers during the interview, with interviewers entering responses directly into the computer. One of the advantages of CAPI is that it significantly reduces both the amount of time spent on data processing and the number of coding and editing errors. There was, however, concern that a different interviewing technique might alter the distribution of responses and so affect the year-on-year consistency of British Social Attitudes data.

- Following the experiment, it was decided to change over to CAPI completely in 1994 (the self-completion questionnaire still being administered in the conventional way). The results of the experiment are discussed in The 11th Report (Lynn and Purdon, 1994).
3. Interview times recorded as less than 20 minutes were excluded as these timings were likely to be errors.
 4. An experiment was conducted on the 1991 British Social Attitudes survey (Jowell et al., 1992), which showed that sending advance letters to sampled addresses before fieldwork begins has very little impact on response rates. However, interviewers do find that an advance letter helps them to introduce the survey on the doorstep, and a majority of respondents have said that they preferred some advance notice. For these reasons, advance letters have been used on the British Social Attitudes surveys since 1991.

References

- Jowell, R., Brook, L., Prior, G. and Taylor, B. (1992), *British Social Attitudes: the 9th Report*, Aldershot: Dartmouth
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- Lynn, P. and Taylor, B. (1995), 'On the bias and variance of samples of individuals: a comparison of the Electoral Registers and Postcode Address File as sampling frames', *The Statistician*, **44**: 173–194

Housing questions asked on British Social Attitudes survey 2004

Face-to-face questionnaire

ASK ALL

Q631 How long have you lived in this home?

Median = 8 years

Q632 Can I just check, how long have you lived in your present neighbourhood?

Median = 18 years

Q633 Does your household own or rent this accommodation?

% IF OWNS: Outright or on a mortgage? IF RENTS: From whom?

30.6 Owns outright

44.8 Buying on mortgage

9.0 Rents: local authority

0.1 Rents: New Town Development Corporation

4.8 Rents: Housing Association

0.9 Rents: property company

0.6 Rents: employer

0.6 Rents: other organisation

0.4 Rents: relative

6.4 Rents: other individual

0.2 Rents: Housing Trust

0.4 Rent free, squatting

0.3 Shared ownership (e.g. part rent, part buy)

0.5 Other (WRITE IN)

0.3 (Don't know)

0.2 (Refusal/Not answered)

ASK ALL WHO OWN OUTRIGHT OR ARE BUYING ON A MORTGAGE

Q637 Did you, or the person responsible for the mortgage, buy your home from the local authority or Housing Association as a tenant?

If yes, was that from the Local Authority or Housing

% Association?

9.2 Yes - from Local Authority

0.9 Yes - from Housing Association

88.8 No

0.5 (Don't know)

0.6 (Refusal/Not answered)

ASK ALL WHO OWN OUTRIGHT, ARE BUYING ON A MORTGAGE, ARE IN RENT-FREE ACCOMMODATION OR HAVE SHARED OWNERSHIP

Q638 If you were to rent your accommodation, from which sort of landlord would you prefer to rent? Please choose an

% answer from this card.

28.5 Housing Association, co-operative or Trust
28.8 Local Authority or Council
32.8 Private landlord
1.7 Some other landlord
7.5 (Don't know)
0.7 (Refusal/Not answered)

ASK ALL WHO RENT

Q639 From which sort of landlord would you prefer to rent?
% Please choose an answer from this card.
23.4 Housing Association, co-operative or Trust
43.6 Local Authority or Council
24.5 Private landlord
2.1 Some other landlord
3.9 (Don't know)
2.6 (Refusal/Not answered)

ASK ALL

Q640 When you were a child, did your parents own their own home, rent it from a local authority or Housing Association, or rent it from someone else?
IF DIFFERENT TYPES OF TENURE PROBE FOR ONE
% RESPONDENT LIVED IN LONGEST
51.9 Owned it
30.1 Rented from Local Authority
1.6 Rented from Housing Association
12.8 Rented from someone else
2.8 Other (WRITE IN)
0.7 (Don't know)
0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

Q644 Leaving aside any plans you might have for the future, which of these, if any, is the type of
% housing you would most want to live in?
3.5 Rent from housing association
6.7 Rent from council/local authority
2.0 Rent from a private landlord
81.6 Owner occupier/buying
0.8 Shared ownership/do-it-yourself shared ownership (i.e. part rent, part buy)
1.7 Live with friends/relatives (not sure what type of housing)
2.4 Sheltered accommodation
0.4 Other (WRITE IN)
0.8 (Don't know)
0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

Q647 If you had to choose just **one** of the things on this card, which one would you say is the main advantage of
% **owning** a home?
21.2 Gives you the freedom to do what you want with it
12.9 Works out less expensive than paying rent
22.5 Is more secure in the long-term than renting
9.1 Is something to leave to your family
32.5 Is a good investment

- 0.8 Something else (WRITE IN)
- 1.0 (Don't know)
- 0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

Q650 And if you had to choose just **one** of the things on this card, which one would you say is the main advantage of % **renting** a home?

- 23.6 Gives you flexibility if you need to move at short notice
- 9.2 Gives you greater choice over where to live
- 30.7 Means someone else is responsible for repairs and maintenance
- 6.3 Is less risky than owning a home
- 12.6 Is less responsibility than owning a home
- 13.1 Means you don't have to worry about taking on a mortgage
- 1.6 Something else (WRITE IN)
- 2.9 (Don't know)
- 0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

Q653 Would you **like** to move home in the next two years?

- %
- 33.9 Yes
- 65.1 No
- 0.9 (Don't know)
- 0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

Q654 Are you **planning** to move home in the next two years?

- % Please choose an answer from this card.
- 13.3 Definitely planning to move
- 12.2 Probably planning to move
- 15.1 Probably not planning to move
- 58.7 Definitely not planning to move
- 0.6 (Don't know)
- 0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

ASK ALL DEFINITELY OR PROBABLY PLANNING TO MOVE

Q656 Which of these, if any, is the type of housing you % are planning to move to?

- 5.2 Rent from housing association
- 6.8 Rent from council/local authority
- 13.7 Rent from a private landlord
- 61.6 Owner occupier/buying
- 1.6 Shared ownership/do-it-yourself shared ownership (i.e. part rent, part buy)
- 4.2 Live with friends/relatives (not sure what type of housing)
- 0.9 Sheltered accommodation
- 2.8 Other (WRITE IN)
- 0.7 (Don't know)
- 2.6 (Refusal/Not answered)

ASK ALL WHO WOULD LIKE TO MOVE OR ARE PLANNING TO MOVE

Q659-Q677 Why (would you like / are you planning) to move home? Please select all the answers that apply from this card.

PROBE FOR ALL REASONS

% HOUSING:

- 38.7 Want larger / smaller house
- 3.6 Home is in poor condition
- 1.7 Lease is up / accommodation will be not Available for other reason
- 2.5 Problems with landlord / other tenants
- 1.9 On the waiting list for a house and one has come up
- 26.1 Simply to move to a house that I / we prefer
AREA:
- 28.7 To move to a better area
- 6.9 To be close to work
- 11.6 To be nearer family or friends
PERSONAL:
- 1.9 Divorce or separation
- 4.0 Marriage or cohabitation
- 13.5 Moving out of parents' home
FINANCIAL:
- 12.1 Want to buy
- 2.5 Can't afford current mortgage or rent
- 2.6 OTHER REASONS TO DO WITH **HOUSING**
- 1.9 OTHER REASONS TO DO WITH **AREA**
- 2.5 OTHER **FINANCIAL** REASONS
- 3.8 OTHER **PERSONAL** REASONS
- 3.5 OTHER REASON (WRITE IN)
- 0.6 (Don't know)
- 0.3 (Refusal/Not answered)

ASK ALL

Q681 Who do you think Housing Association homes should % **mainly** be for?

- 25.8 People on very low incomes
- 39.4 People on very low incomes **and** people like nurses or teachers if local property is very expensive
- 28.4 Anyone, regardless of their income
- 1.5 (None of these)
- 4.8 (Don't know)
- 0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

IF NOT 'Rents: Housing Association' AT [Tenure6]

Q682 Please use this card to tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:
I would like to live in a Housing Association property if I could get it.

Q683 And how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:)
Housing Associations do not provide housing for people like me.

% %

Agree strongly	4.2	10.9
Agree	11.7	27.8
Neither agree nor disagree	20.2	20.6
Disagree	30.3	22.4
Disagree strongly	24.0	3.6
(Don't know)	4.6	9.8
(Refusal/Not answered)	0.1	0.1

ASK ALL

Q684-Q686 From what you know or have heard, what do you think are the three main **good points** about being a housing association tenant?

- % Multicoded (Maximum of 3 codes)
- 2.4 (None of these)
- 10.6 Being able to choose where to live
- 41.0 Fair rent
- 10.1 Better than being a council tenant
- 26.3 Cheaper than buying
- 4.3 Friendly neighbours
- 13.5 Good landlords
- 5.3 Access to tenant's associations
- 5.3 More choice over what happens to the Property
- 7.0 Access to other housing association services
- 29.9 Good repairs and maintenance service
- 5.2 Access to support services
- 17.2 Good quality housing
- 18.3 Homes are kept in a good state of repair
- 14.0 Housing Associations provide decent homes
- 5.4 Housing Associations provide modern homes
- 0.9 Other (WRITE IN)
- 19.2 (Don't know)
- 0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

ASK ALL

Q689-Q691 And what do you think are the three main **bad points**?

- % Multicoded (Maximum of 3 codes)
- 3.5 (None of these)
- 17.1 The location of their homes
- 10.7 Rents are too high
- 30.7 Antisocial neighbours
- 5.7 Bad landlords
- 4.6 Having to deal with tenants' associations
- 25.3 Little choice over what happens to the property
- 7.5 Poor repairs and maintenance service

- 18.1 Little choice over the type of house tenants can live in
- 4.2 Poor quality housing
- 3.4 Homes are kept in a poor state of Repair
- 2.6 Homes are of a poor standard
- 26.2 Can't invest in the housing market
- 33.7 Don't own the property
- 0.8 Other (WRITE IN)
- 23.3 (Don't know)
- 0.1 (Refusal/Not answered)

Q694 For each of the following please use this card to tell me whether you think it is true or false.
If you don't know, just say so and we'll skip to the next one.
Most Housing Association tenants have a job.

Q695 (Is it true or false that)
Most Housing Association tenants are dependent on state benefits.

Q696 (Is it true or false that)
Most Housing Association tenants have school age children living with them.
FOR DON'T KNOW, USE CTRL+K

	[HAQuiz1]	[HAQuiz2]	[HAQuiz3]
	%	%	%
Definitely true	2.6	4.3	7.4
Probably true	33.4	32.2	44.8
Probably false	17.5	21.2	8.9
Definitely false	3.5	2.7	1.1
(Don't know)	42.9	39.5	37.7
(Refusal/Not answered)	0.1	0.1	0.1

Self-completion questionnaire

54. We are interested in views about different types of landlords.

Firstly, thinking of councils. From what you know or have heard, how good or bad do you think they are at ...

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE		Nearly always good	Often good	Sometimes good and sometimes bad	Often bad	Nearly always bad	Can't choose	Not an- swered
a. ...providing a good standard of repairs and maintenance in their homes?	%	6.8	20.3	45.2	8.8	2.6	14.0	2.3
b. ...charging reasonable rents	%	7.8	34.1	30.0	7.3	1.2	17.0	2.4
c. ...allowing tenants to stay in their homes as long as they want to	%	14.1	36.2	23.2	3.4	0.6	19.9	2.5
d. ...providing housing in good neighbourhoods	%	3.9	14.9	38.8	19.3	4.1	16.8	2.3

55. Thinking now about housing associations. Again from what you know or have heard, how good or bad do you think they are at

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE		Nearly always good	Often good	Sometimes good and sometimes bad	Often bad	Nearly always bad	Can't choose	Not an- swered
a. ...providing a good standard of repairs and maintenance in their homes?	%	8.1	29.2	31.7	4.3	0.9	23.6	2.2
b. ...charging reasonable rents	%	5.6	32.6	27.5	6.1	1.0	24.6	2.6
c. ...allowing tenants to stay in their homes as long as they want to	%	8.3	30.6	26.3	2.8	0.6	29.0	2.6
d. ...providing housing in good neighbourhoods	%	5.1	21.7	36.2	8.4	1.8	24.5	2.4

56. Thinking finally about private landlords. From what you know or have heard, how good or bad do you think they are at

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE		Nearly always good	Often good	Sometimes good and sometimes bad	Often bad	Nearly always bad	Can't choose	Not an- swered
a. ...providing a good standard of repairs and maintenance in	%	3.3	12.7	41.0	21.1	3.5	15.8	2.6

their homes?

b. ...charging reasonable rents	%	1.8	7.8	37.8	27.8	5.7	16.4	2.7
c. ...allowing tenants to stay in their homes as long as they want to	%	2.4	10.2	39.3	20.8	5.0	19.6	2.8
d. ...providing housing in good neighbourhoods	%	4.2	18.6	42.1	10.9	2.3	19.4	2.7

57. Suppose a newly-married young couple, both with steady jobs, asked your advice about whether to buy or rent a home. If they had the choice, what would you advise them to do?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY %

To buy a home as soon as possible 71.0
To wait a bit, then try to buy a home 23.6
Not to plan to buy a home at all 1.1
Can't choose 3.3
Not answered 1.1

58. All things considered, how easy or difficult do you think it would be for you to move home if you wanted to do so now?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY %

Very easy 12.7
Quite easy 27.5
Neither easy nor difficult 18.5
Quite difficult 22.6
Very difficult 14.8
Can't choose 2.8
Not answered 1.1